

# Suffragists' Fifty Year Fight Reviewed on Eve of Victory

Notable Women and Stirring Events in Struggle for Franchise Are Recalled While Ratification by Only Two More States Is Needed for Success



ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

## Women Voters in the United States, 26,800,000.

Number of women 21 years of age and over in the United States. Estimate based on 1910 census. (No allowance is made for aliens.)

Alabama	52,154	Nevada	19,561
Arkansas	45,750	New Hampshire	18,909
California	287,193	New Jersey	130,321
Colorado	224,167	New Mexico	67,465
Connecticut	268,544	North Carolina	271,422
Delaware	64,284	South Carolina	175,552
Florida	146,552	North Dakota	134,546
Georgia	214,453	Ohio	1,538,178
Idaho	76,729	Oklahoma	261,513
Illinois	1,774,240	Oregon	183,165
Indiana	547,722	Pennsylvania	2,128,498
Iowa	661,091	Rhode Island	183,098
Kansas	192,827	South Dakota	147,605
Kentucky	427,731	Tennessee	864,548
Louisiana	424,859	Texas	921,680
Maine	248,769	Utah	94,201
Maryland	468,269	Vermont	117,371
Massachusetts	1,131,083	Virginia	1,171,371
Michigan	861,636	Washington	206,499
Minnesota	680,452	West Virginia	212,165
Mississippi	664,285	Wisconsin	673,731
Missouri	986,167	Wyoming	31,781
Montana	88,215		
Nebraska	327,344	Total	26,800,000

By MARTHA COMAN.

**A** DETERMINED, simply dressed woman wearing her dark hair brushed smoothly over her ears and coiled in a knot low on her neck was seated in the front end of a street car in Rochester, N. Y. The town sheriff stood on the rear end of the car. Now and then he glanced uneasily toward the prisoner in his charge. Her firm mouth and flashing eyes somewhat daunted him.

"Fare!" demanded the conductor, approaching the woman passenger.

"I am a prisoner," she said, looking up from contemplating her slender hands encased in silk mitts. "I am travelling under the escort of the sheriff. He is in the other end of the car and you will have to ask him for my fare."

And Susan B. Anthony, for it was she, settled the fold of her dress, which had been slightly crumpled in the recent struggle which had resulted in her being sent to the Court House for having tried to cast her vote on the ground that she was one of the "people."

That was nearly half a century ago. If "Aunt Susan" were alive to-day she would find that those widely criticized militant acts of hers and her sister pioneers had actually helped to lead women straight to political freedom. And if she could be here to-morrow, March 22, she would probably see the ratification of the Federal suffrage amendment by the full thirty-six States, after a battle for freedom that has lasted since 1869.

### Only Two States More.

With thirty-four of the States having signed the measure, all hopes of the political equality leaders are now centered on Washington and Delaware, where special sessions to consider ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment will be held within the next twenty-four hours.

There is little doubt that the measure will go through. Washington has been an equal suffrage State for several years and the Delaware Legislature is considered to be favorably inclined. It would hardly have the temerity to suffrage argue, to vote against the amendment, knowing that the entire suffrage vote is looking to this tiny section of the United States to change the political complexion of the country.

However, if Delaware should defeat the amendment the suffragists will pin their hopes on Connecticut and Vermont, both of which hold regular sessions in 1921, and one of which might be persuaded, they believe, to call a special consideration of the measure if it needed just one more vote.

Twelve out of the thirty-four States already in line ratified in regular sessions. The twenty-two others called special sessions. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the women of this day are rejoicing in what is practically a triumph, and that in their rejoicing they remember those who laid the foundation of the movement, the organizers of the women's rights cause?

The National Woman Suffrage Association, of which Susan B. Anthony was president for eight years, was born of poor, but honest parents, in 1869, and fortunately for a cause which was to progress steadily, if slowly at times, toward victory, it happened to have a wealthy godmother. This was Mrs. Elizabeth B. Phelps, who installed the sturdy child in spacious quarters at 49 East Twenty-third street. For some time the new organization, a sort of woman's bureau, held weekly meetings, and its home became a salon friendly to reformers in general and to the franchise seeker in particular.

One hundred signed the pledge and became charter members of the national association. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was elected the first president and that time Miss Anthony refused to accept any higher office than that of member of the executive committee.

Mrs. Stanton served from 1869 to 1892, when Miss Anthony was elected to the chief office, which she occupied until 1900. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt succeeded Miss Anthony and held office from 1900 until 1915, when Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was chosen national leader. In 1915 Mrs. Catt was again elected president and succeeded Dr. Shaw. She has guided its destinies ever since and is now winding up the affairs of the fifty-year-old body, which has been voted out of existence because it has accomplished its



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW



INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN



MRS. FRANK LESLIE



SUSAN B. ANTHONY

mission. In its place there has been formed the National League of Women Voters, with seven regional directors and leagues in every State to correspond with the State suffrage associations.

The suffrage association was really the outgrowth of a convention called to discuss woman's right. This was in 1848, at Seneca Falls, and was brought about by the combined efforts of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, with the cooperation of Martha C. Wright and Mary Ann McClintock. The organizers decided to exclude men, but either from curiosity or other interest a number of the recognized voters not only attended, but men actually presided over and officiated the gathering. The convention adopted a declaration of sentiments modeled after the Declaration of Independence.

The next great gathering was held four years later at Syracuse, and was called to consider woman's rights. Delegates from eight States and Canada were present. Between the dates of the two conventions meetings were held in various States, one of special importance being the Salem, Ohio, convention in 1850, which brought together Frances Dana Gage, Elizabeth Robinson, J. Elizabeth Jones and Josephine S. Griffing. The women attending this convention sent a memorial signed by 8,000 men and women, calling attention to the unjust laws concerning married women and asking for the right of suffrage.

### Formed Another Body in 1869.

During the same year the Massachusetts women under leadership of Lucy Stone and Pauline Wright Davis were gathering their forces. In the same year, 1869, they held a convention at Worcester. Among the speakers were Lucretia Mott, Ernestine Rose, Abby Kelly, Antoinette Brown and Dr. Harriet K. Hunt. The next woman's rights convention was held in 1881, in Indiana, and the following year saw the Pennsylvania women gathered to discuss the political equality question.

When the National Woman Suffrage Association was formed eighteen years later in New York, another group of women met in Cleveland, Ohio, and organized the American Woman Suffrage Association. Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe took the leadership of the latter organization, while Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Anthony headed the former organization.

The two suffrage organizations split on campaign policy. The Anthony-Stanton adherents considered the Federal amendment the most important work ahead of them, while the Stone-Howe followers preferred to win the fight State by State.

During this year, 1869, when the two national organizations were formed, Wyoming granted its women the ballot and for twenty-four years the fight for the franchise was waged, but not another State followed Wyoming's lead.

It was in 1872 that several women, among them Miss Anthony, believed that they had been enfranchised under the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." With fifteen women of the same belief, Miss Anthony registered in Rochester and in November she cast her vote. She was prosecuted for this "crime" by the United States Government and fined \$100, which she refused to pay and which was never exacted.

Another attempt to gain political recognition for women under the Fourteenth Amendment was made by Miss Anthony and her followers, and the case was carried to the Supreme Court. The case was decided against the suffragists, and Miss Anthony then turned her attention to securing the passage of a new amendment. This was drawn up in 1875, and since that year suffragists have worked both in the States and through Congress to have their right to the ballot recognized.

### Introduced First in 1878.

The Anthony amendment, as it was called, was introduced for the first time in Congress in the Senate in 1878 by Senator A. A. Sargent of California. It was reported adversely to the Senate by the committee, but the next year, 1879, the adverse report of the majority was accompanied by a favorable report from the minority.

Year after year the suffragists have gone to Washington to plead their cause with the committee. Miss Anthony personally undertook the work of seeing that the amendment was introduced annually until 1890. The House of Representatives voted on the amendment for the first time in 1915 and

## Ratification of Suffrage Amendment.

	Gov. Legis.	Senate	House
1—Wisconsin	R R June 10	24-1	54-2
2—Michigan	R R June 10	Unan.	Unan.
3—Kansas	R R June 16	Unan.	Unan.
4—Ohio	R R June 16	Unan.	Unan.
5—New York	D R June 16	Unan.	Unan.
6—Illinois	R R June 17	Unan.	133-4
7—Pennsylvania	R R June 24	32-6	153-44
8—Massachusetts	R R June 25	34-5	184-77
9—Texas	D D June 29	Unan.	96-21
10—Iowa	R R July 2	Unan.	98-5
11—Missouri	D Div'd July 3	25-3	125-4
12—Arkansas	D D July 20	20-2	76-17
13—Montana	D R July 30	38-1	Unan.
14—Nebraska	R R Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
15—Minnesota	R R Sept. 8	60-8	130-6
16—New Hampshire	R R Sept. 10	14-10	212-113
17—Utah	D R Sept. 20	Unan.	Unan.
18—California	R R Nov. 1	Unan.	73-2
19—Maine	R R Nov. 5	24-6	72-68
20—North Dakota	R R Dec. 1	38-4	103-6
21—South Dakota	R R Dec. 4	Unan.	Unan.
22—Colorado	R R Dec. 14	Unan.	Unan.
23—Rhode Island	R R Jan. 6	37-1	88-8
24—Kentucky	R Div'd Jan. 4	30-8	75-55
25—Oregon	R R Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
26—Indiana	R R Jan. 16	48-2	Unan.
27—Wyoming	R R Jan. 27	Unan.	Unan.
28—Nevada	D Div'd Feb. 7	Unan.	Unan.
29—New Jersey	D R Feb. 10	18-2	84-81
30—Idaho	R R Feb. 11	29-6	Unan.
31—Arizona	R R Feb. 12	Unan.	Unan.
32—New Mexico	R R Feb. 19	17-5	36-10
33—West Virginia	D D Feb. 27	24-18	84-12
34—Delaware	D D March 10	15-14	47-40

### STATES WHICH HAVE DEFEATED RATIFICATION

	Gov. Legis.	Senate	House
1—Alabama	D D Sept. 2	15-13	No vote
2—Georgia	D D July 24	38-8	118-20
3—Mississippi	D D Jan. 21	31-15	106-23
4—South Carolina	D D Jan. '24	No vote	92-21
5—Virginia	D D Feb. 12	24-10	62-32
6—Maryland	D D Feb. 17	18-9	64-36

Washington and Delaware have called sessions for March 22.

(\*Ratified at special sessions.)

### STATES WHICH HAVE NOT ACTED

Gov. Legis.		Gov. Legis.	
1—Connecticut	R R	2—Vermont	R R
3—Louisiana	D D	4—North Carolina	D D
5—Florida	D D	6—Tennessee	D D

the Senate voted on it for the second time in 1914.

While Miss Anthony led the national campaign at Washington, Miss Stone and Julia Ward Howe had been looking after the State work. In 1900 the two national associations decided to combine their activities and unite under the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Stanton was elected president of the combined associations and Miss Anthony continued to assist in the work.

It was after the amalgamation had been effected that the New York city headquarters were opened. Three years after establishing itself here the association moved to Warren, Ohio, where Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton had full charge of the campaign work. In 1909 the association returned to New York city, and since that time has conducted its campaign from here, first from offices at 505 Fifth avenue, partially maintained by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, who became active in the movement then, and later from 171 Madison avenue, the present home of the existing organization.

In 1912 the association formed a Congressional committee, with headquarters in Washington, and with some of its best trained and brainiest women in charge.

It was in this year that Miss Alice Paul and Miss Lucy Burns identified themselves with the national association. Miss Paul was made chairman of the Congressional committee and Miss Burns her chief assistant. The former, a young, pale faced girl, had served a term in Holloway Jail for her militant activities under the guidance of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, then the head of the Women's Social and Political Union of Great Britain.

Miss Paul and Miss Burns did not long remain with the national association. They organized the Congressional Union on lines

similar to those on which the Pankhurst organization was formed. In 1916 this became known as the National Woman's Party.

The Woman's Party leaders, the "picketing suffragists," as they are often called, began to work for the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, but they followed an entirely different course. They adopted militant tactics, they staged the spectacular, and they helped materially to win the victory. Their success lay in a "psychological analysis of men's character hitherto not understood in the suffrage campaign. They understood the dislike, almost fear, that men have of being ridiculed. And the Woman's Party leaders played on that fear. They caused Senators and Representatives to be laughed at and ridiculed whenever they could, and they did not draw the line at the President. Whether men and women approve of their methods or not, it must be admitted that the National Woman's Party have accomplished a great deal in their four years of concentrated effort.

The conservative wing of the suffrage movement, then led by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, frequently disapproved of the Woman's Party tactics. They would never have attempted such methods themselves. But when a recalcitrant Senator or Representative was made to see the light all women and most men rejoiced, whether the conversion had been accomplished through a course of conservative, persuasive and educational methods, or by reminding him of his neglected duties by means of truth, if somewhat impudent, placards.

The Woman's Party organizers went to prison, and Miss Paul was forcibly fed. Her followers here were ready and willing to submit to the same treatment. Many of them did go to Occoquan, where they wore the ordinary prison dress, ate the ordinary

prison food and slept on the ordinary prison beds. They told of their treatment in detail after they were released, and later they organized the "Prison Special," a train which toured the country and carried most of the women who had been imprisoned for having picketed the White House.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has a membership of some two million women and is organized in practically every State. The National Woman's Party has a large membership and has Amendment was to come before the State Legislature, whether in regular or special session.

The victory so far belongs first to those pioneer women who started the movement, then to the leaders of both factions who decided to abandon the old and slower method of winning suffrage State by State, and who renewed the campaign for the passage of the Federal amendment.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has its weekly organization, *The Woman Citizen*, through which it keeps the suffragists informed of the progress of their cause. *The National Woman's Party* has its publication, *The Suffragist*, dedicated to the same purpose. Both have frequently been sold by feminine "newsies," whose appearance even a few years ago was looked upon as unusual, almost militant.

But as far back as 1868 Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, founders of *The Revolution*, were spreading their political equality propaganda by means of this journal, when it was sold in the streets by girls dressed in red and green uniforms with their suffrage papers tucked into bags.

### Women Use Own Names.

The sanction of the custom among married women of using their own names rather than those of their husbands in relation to activities in which they personally participate may be traced to Miss Anthony. Within the last decade the custom has gained such ground that one no longer is startled to find the husband's and wife's names on the same letter box. When writing to Senator Palmer about the association's deficit she said, "Please write out Mrs. Palmer's name in full—her very own name, I mean—for I do not want her to go down on the page of history as only an attachment of Thomas W. she is a full-orbed sun all by herself."

Periodically the suffrage movement rallied to its support women of society. In 1909, when the national headquarters were removed from Ohio to New York, many of the social leaders joined the suffrage ranks. They organized their own leagues and always gathered for one of the big parades which were then a feature of the State campaign for the vote.

But long before that social celebrities looked with favor on the cause. Mrs. Ruford Hayes, as the "First Lady of the Land," graced the suffrage convention when it met in Washington in 1881. With her were some of her White House guests, members of the Supreme Court and of Congress and other persons of note in the diplomatic circle.

In 1894 New York city's fashionable set joined the movement. The constitutional convention was being held at that time, and Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell and Mrs. Joseph H. Choate called a meeting at Sherry's to sign a petition to strike from the New York State Constitution the word "male." The list of names affixed to this petition included a score or more of those best known in the city's fashionable circle. On the list were the names of Chauncey M. Depew, Russell Sage, Frederic R. Coudert, the Rev. Dr. Rainesford, Bishop Potter and William Dean Howells.

Wary of besieging Congress year after year with no results, the leaders in the movement soon began to see that their hope of political recognition lay in winning the States. Of this change in tactics Mrs. Ida Husted Harper of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Committee says:

"It early became apparent to the leaders of the movement that there would have to be a good deal of favorable action by the

States before Congress would give serious consideration to this question, and therefore, under the auspices of the National American Association, they have continuously helped with money and work the campaigns for securing the suffrage by amendment of State constitutions.

"In 1910 an insurgent movement developed in Congress and extended into various States to throw off the party yoke and adopt progressive measures. One of its first fruits was the granting of suffrage to women by the voters of the State of Washington. Under the same influence the women of California were enfranchised in 1911, a far-reaching victory. In 1912 Oregon, Arizona and the well populated State of Kansas adopted woman suffrage. In 1913 the Legislature of Alaska granted it, and that of Illinois gave all that was possible without a referendum to the voters, including municipal, county and that for Presidential electors. In 1914 Nevada and Montana completed the enfranchisement of women in the western part of the United States, except in New Mexico, over a third of the whole area.

"The effect upon Congress of the addition of from three to four million women to the electorate was immediately apparent. A woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution had suddenly become a live issue.

"There were altogether fifty-six of these separate suffrage campaigns, with victories in only fifteen States as the meagre result."

Next the women leaders turned their attention to obtaining Presidential suffrage, and up to 1917 this had been won in North Dakota, Nebraska, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Rhode Island. Then came Arkansas, giving its women full suffrage in all primaries, equivalent to a vote in regular elections.

### The Victory in New York.

In November, 1917, came the full victory in New York State, the first Eastern State to enfranchise women. Fresh from their victory here, the New York women turned their guns on Washington to help their sisters win the Federal franchise fight. The amendment was finally passed June 4, 1919.

Then began the ratification campaign, participated in by the conservatives and the militants. And the battle for ratification ended in nine months, marks the shortest time it has taken to ratify a Constitutional amendment. In the 1920 elections more than 25,000,000 women will vote in the United States.

Although ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment has broken the record in regard to the number of special sessions called and the speed with which it has been secured, the speed has been attained in spite of obstacles that ranged from the Japanese menace to school code fights, and from ancient personal prejudices about women and the home to modern political fears of the "irreconcilables" that women, if they had the chance, would vote for the League of Nations. Campaigns were directed against either the Governors or the Legislatures in all but five of the thirty-six States that have ratified—Wisconsin, Ohio, New York, Arkansas and Montana.

How bitter the opposition to suffrage was became evident as ratification neared completion. In the last doubtful States—New Jersey, West Virginia and New Mexico—"plots" had to be thwarted, parliamentary tricks turned, powerful interests circumvented. In West Virginia the Legislature, deadlocked, was held in session while a vote was rushed from California. It was only when the supporters of suffrage appeared armed with pillows, thermos bottles and pucks of cards that the opponents gave up their effort to adjourn the session before the extra vote on the suffrage side arrived.

### Old Documents Present Problem

W HAT to destroy and what to save in the way of old documents, newspapers and other publications has given rise to the organization of the committees of Congress bearing these peculiar titles: "Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments" and "Examination and Disposition of Documents." The names of the committees indicate the duties devolving upon their members.

Moreover, not only public officers, but the directors of libraries and museums, to say nothing of private collectors are often puzzled by the accumulation of matter issuing from modern printing presses. A bill was some time ago introduced in Parliament to enable the trustees of the British Museum to distribute or destroy "valueless printed matter in their possession."

Immediately a Shakespearean scholar of prominence objected. He argued that no one could discriminate between what may be valuable and what is not. "Who knows," he asked, "but that the trade circular, the country newspaper or the street song may throw a most important light several hundred years hence upon some mooted question of our present life?"